1:Dieterlen--77b E-5 (1946-1949) 1951 FA8 Bambara FA8

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a) Ngoyo tomatoes (Ségou market).

Plate II

b) Faro's water gourd (Ségou market).

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595 A husband owes his wife food, clothing, and lodging within his means, and unless he has imprudently acquired too many wives, everything will be kept within the proper limits. In any event, he must be impartial toward all his wives on one particular point if he wants domestic tranquillity: he must honor each of them in turn with his favors.

In theory, a husband is supposed to treat his wives alike in all things, although it is apparent from the foregoing that this is practically impossible. Besides, it is usually agreed that the first wife, no matter who she is, whether slave or free, has certain prerogatives. She acts as a kind of mother to her co-wives, supervises their work and their pursuits, and issues all the supplies. With reference to her husband, she acts as confidante and adviser.

851 Filiation. This is to be regarded as the totality of facts which, for the sake of clarity, we shall divide into two groups: birth, and giving a name. [209]

843 Birth. A pregnant woman, by virtue of her condition, is subject to a kind of special regime whose special features are the following.

In principle, she must forego sexual relations from the moment she feels the child move until two or three months after its birth. This is not done for reasons of hygiene, but rather because the child is thought to require it as a kind of deference, without which it will die.

From the standpoint of diet, the expectant mother should be well and even abundantly fed. When possible she is given the [262] heart and liver of slaughtered wild animals; these are centers of life which, if eaten, will strengthen the child's soul and make the child a courageous individual. A pregnant woman often wants some [261] of the yellow or red clay which is sold in the markets, which [443] for some unknown reason she will eat as if it were chocolate.

She must refrain from visiting dying people, attending funerals, going into mourning, or mingling with crowds, all this in order to avoid any contact that might injure the fragile soul she is carrying.

794 778 "After the creation came the consecration. The Kourcubari and the leaders of the people witnessed it. A white ox, a red ox, and a red rooster were sacrificed for the occasion (2)."

2. Raffenel, Nouveau voyage au Pays des Nègres [New Journey to the Country of the Negroes], Vol. 1, p. 237.

The boli is usually hidden from the uninitiated; it is put in a sack or other receptacle, and except during ceremonies it [846] is stored with other cult objects in a kind of temple often resembling a miniature native hut and called nyana-bon', "hut of the nyana."

[776] Obviously there are differences between the various nyana, because peculiar practices call up unlike spirits. In any event, however, the captive spirit is, as it were, a slave of the magician, who treats it as such and even sells it, along with instructions for its use. There are magicians who go from place to place, making and selling nyana and other magic weapons, and there are recognized markets where one can always [256] obtain [443] the boli of the most popular nyana. The markets at Bélédougou, Bendougou, and Follona are especially well known.

Trade in Boli

794 778 438 The chronicle of Ségou tells that Biton, the founder of the empire, acquired his principal idols in the Bendougou region where the popular markets of Moribala, Kourbadougou, and Diali are located.

Itinerant merchants deal in all sorts of cult objects, and there are settled traders who are sometimes very well known, like a certain Minkoli who made boli and was so famous that his village is named after him: Minkoli ka dugu (village of Minkoli). I have never been able to find out, however, which village in the Bendougou area was the home of the famous Minkoli.

By such means the cult of a given nyana, once it has been created, spreads to some extent, depending on the degree

794 process, let loose a rain of sparks which the Kore-duga zealously
796 put out with leafy branches. Then each dancer, carrying what
786 is left of his torch, kneels before the drums, making an obscene gesture which arouses the laughter of the onlookers and giving the cries, roars, or laugh of the "wild beasts." Elsewhere, the nyoni-sa-ma are roaming among the drinkers, tearing at themselves with thorns. [785] Flagellants lash themselves with switches that leave cuts from which the blood flows. They stiffen themselves against the pain and keep up this cruel sport, which once again the Kore-duga mitigate by binding up the wounds.

There appears to be no doubt that during these orgies the most shameful excesses are committed without the slightest restraint.

The Nya

794 This brotherhood is highly esteemed in all the Bambara villages in the cantons of Say and Karadougou. It is less common in the canton of Séladougou; in the canton of Saro, five-sixths of the villages are loyal to it. It is rarely found in Nyansannari, and outside these areas in the circle of Djenné, there are only a few scattered Nya brotherhoods in the Bendougou and Ségou areas.

The cult arose in the Bendougou region. As has been [443] noted above, the villages of Moribala, Kourbadougou, Diali, etc., are market villages where all the boli are found, together with directions for using them.

778 The boli of the Nya consists of a piece of wood from 25
794 to 30 centimeters in length and from 10 to 15 centimeters in height and width. It is wrapped in an absorbent material, usually cotton. The blood of the victims and the liquid of the libations are poured on this boli, and then hairs or feathers and bits of entrails, eggs, and kola nuts are stuck to it, giving it a repulsive appearance. [281] It is true that the boli is often concealed from inquisitive eyes by putting it in a container made of an old piece of the hide of a she-goat. However, since the container is given the same treatment as the boli it contains, it is just as disgusting.

439 The great distances to the coasts remain an obstacle to outside commerce, for the country lacks motor power. All coal must be imported, and hydroelectric equipment is scanty.

b. Commercial Regulation

The decree 3771-SE of July 21, 1949, set the terms for importing quota goods from metropolitan France and from countries of the French Union or for importing foreign goods. The regulation of exports is set forth in the decree 2233-SE of April 19, 1950. Any merchant holding an export license may export goods. According
441 to Richard-Molard, the commercial companies financed by French and foreign capital (increasingly American) still retain the old trading mentality which seeks to wring maximum profits out of the colony without reinvesting in the country's equipment. Attempts to
474 protect the native producers resulted in the creation of cooperatives which were given certain advantages; nevertheless, the cooperatives soon ran up against the competition of the European commercial houses and were discouraged.

c. Organization

443 Trading posts and cooperatives -- Enumeration and classification of trading posts is governed by a local decree, effective as of the opening of the trading which is itself governed by a general decree. In principle, the decree fixing the location of trading posts is drawn up after consultation by the administrations of the Bamako and Kayes Chambers of Commerce.

[40] It is formally forbidden to buy products elsewhere than at these trading posts, under pain of prosecution; confiscation of goods and seizure of vehicles may even be invoked in certain cases of repeated offense.

Role of the trading posts -- The role of these trading posts is to gather together the products of a region; the choice generally falls on a large village served by a practicable road or on a railway station from which the goods may be the more easily moved out. From the administrative point of view , the trading posts facilitate keeping a

443 record of production and provide a replacement for the markets and fairs abolished by a general decree in 1946. For business, the result is less scattered buying centers and less need for vehicles, packing, etc.

474 443 The cooperatives and the trading posts -- Since 1951 two African cooperatives have been in existence: one at Kita, termed a production cooperative, the other at Kayes, termed commercial and industrial. They are organized under the aegis of the Administration by native businessmen, notables who, under cover of the association, hope to escape the influence of the large commercial houses on which they depend. These cooperatives function in a disappointing manner and lack technique, experience, and a sense of continuity. However, they benefit from concealed subsidies in the form of loans from the Common Funds of the Crédit Agricole and from the Société de Prévoyance.

These cooperatives are not required to buy products only at the trading posts. A village where only one cooperative member resides may be chosen as a buying center by the cooperative directors without it even being necessary for them to have the permission of the Administration.

Situation in 1950-51 -- Profiting from the freedom to choose buying centers that the Administration granted them, the cooperatives established them near the trading posts, thus diverting to themselves a large part of the goods that would normally arrive at the posts. Certain trading posts, notably Sirakoro in the Kita circle, saw their purchases drop by 80 percent because buyers of the cooperative were installed at Goro, 30 kilometers back in the hinterland of this canton. The buyers of the commercial houses, who had granted credit to the cultivators during the rainy season, were unable to recover their loans and, therefore installed themselves in the "cooperative" villages outside the trading posts. The cooperatives protested, and the Administration imposed fines, seizure of scales, products, etc., and, above all, brought intimidation to bear through the intermediary of canton and village heads who forbade the local populations to sell their products to buyers from the commercial houses. The only method of countering these acts was to buy everywhere the cooperative bought.

439 By the south -- Guinea: rubber, ivory, gold, livestock, rice, millet. Ivory Coast: Sahel salt, livestock, wax, karite, native cotton and wool cloth and blankets. Gold Coast: livestock, native cloth.

443 In addition, all centers of any importance had a large periodic market which was a sort of regional fair, plus a small daily market which permitted the inhabitants of the locality to obtain provisions as needed.

b. Caravan Commerce

443 484 Over and above these markets, a long-distance caravan trade is carried on by the Haoussa and the Dioula, who transport their merchandise in the north with beasts of burdens, in the south by human bearers. These movements continue a commercial tradition and have been altered only by legislation. Before the conquest, any man who wished could enter this commerce on the condition of paying his "Fama" the usual sum. The traders, to protect themselves against brigands, traveled [42] in caravans. Practice had it that the [787] traders consulted a priest before leaving to find out if their undertaking would succeed. After the usual sacrifices, the priest revealed the name of the one who would direct the group. The caravan chief could even be a captive, but everyone owed him obedience because a divine force inhabited him. To each state which is crossed, the [651] caravan paid a customs fee on entering and asked the Fama for permission to cross, indicating the extent of their route and making propitiatory sacrifices in each region. Sometimes certain districts, such as the region of Bougouni, forbade blood sacrifices for fear of bringing down evil forces on themselves. The caravans then let loose an animal secretly at night.

c. Commercial Practices

438 643 Everything could be sold except gold, which was the property of the Fama. No one was supposed to possess gold. If the gold miners of Bouré could sell the gold extracted from the mines, when the buyers entered the Bambara country, they had to present it to the Fama. If he did not wish to buy it, he authorized certain rich people permanently settled in the district (that is, who would be unlikely to leave) to buy